756 "As in all the tribes of this America, there are among our Mataguayos certain doctors or wizards, whom they call "yegu." They are feared and respected. Those who wish to enter this profession go off into the uninhabited areas for a few days, fast rigorously and run about continuously day and night. Their manner of effecting a cure is to lean their whole bodies right over the sick person, who is lying on the ground, place both hands in the form of a tube over the affected and painful parts and then blow with all their might emitting at the same time a series of hoarse bellows. They persevere in this treatment for hours on end and even all night long. By way of payment they are given anything they ask for to the point that the invalid may be left naked, but if the sick person should not recover, his relatives will insist that everything be returned. When an epidemic of some sort appears in the village or in the surrounding villages, all the yegus come together, sit down a short distance away from the group of huts and with their faces turned toward them burst forth into a melancholy song accompanied by the sound of some small gourds filled with stones which they shake at the same time. They think that this will frighten the pestilence away or prevent its entering."

164 "A common malady among the Mataguayos is mange, and the disease which ravages them most is pleurisy. As soon as they become ill they shave their heads and call the yegu. When an invalid starts 763 to die he is taken to the place where he is to be buried and there, in 764 order to have him avoid the anguish of his last moments, he is choked to death. The body, not extended but half raised, is placed in a rather shallow hole which, after being covered with branches and grass, has earth thrown on it."

768 "On returning from the funeral all the equipment which belonged to the deceased is broken up; his hut is dismantled and taken to a new spot [596] or at the very least the door through which he [764] passed on being carried out to his grave is covered over. Each village has its own common burial ground which is always close at hand."

● 765 "The deceased's relatives gather around the grave on the night following the burial, and perform the funeral rites with lugubrious clamorings and drumming on their pimpines. For some time they abstain from eating fish and other meats.

774 "They have a vague notion of the soul which they call Neuseh of which they believe that it outlives the body and transmigrates into

142 that they habitually eat fish and fruit and very little meat, with some [262] exceptions. The teeth in the young are good and whole, but in older persons they are either lacking or are worn down [175] and ugly. The enamel on their teeth is not, in my opinion, like ours, its whiteness is the whiteness of bone, and not of ivory, and I am almost at the point of believing that it is less resistant. Their gums and lips are of a faded pink color. Can this be caused by their diet? They do not eat [263] salt because they do not have it, but they like it very much and relish it as though it were sugar when they are given some. Their lips are thick, somewhat protruding and turned outwards. Almost all of them have slightly slanted eyes, the lower apex inclined towards the nose in the shape of an almond -- there are some, though, who have round, horizontal eyes, which are inky black, the whites looking as though someone had put a little blueing into them; while the whites of the slanted eyes have seemed to me often to have a bilious greenish shade to them, especially among the aged.

Their noses are long, straight and flattened, the nostrils also flattened and extraordinarily wide, but not snubbed. This business of [262] snubnoses is one of their great worries, so much so that they will not eat mutton because they assert that doing so would make their noses take the shape of sheep noses. This is a trick of their medical quacks and [756] witch doctors who, in order to prevent the destruction of their flocks and with them the loss of the little wool which they weave and is useful to them, have invented this pious deception so similar to others which are familiar to us. So it is that all of us all over the world and in all periods are alike in matters of artfulness and pride.

Their hair is straight and coarse, but in a very few individuals I have noted slightly wavy hair, almost kinky, though I know not whether it be so naturally or artificially. I have also noticed, in some, incipient baldness. The hair of adult individuals is jet black, [165] and white among the aged, but this is not often encountered, I suppose because only rarely do they achieve any age to speak of. Among children up to ten or twelve years old the hair is often reddish which is a strange phenomenon and calls to mind Salles' theory that primitive man must have had red hair. We may have here an example of 302 [765] atavism. They wear their hair long and unkempt, but cut it short for a whole year when in mourning. This does not mean that they do not

skin color, and also because of the scratches which become caked, and 515
because of the sun's burning which wrinkles the almost scorched skin, especially on their shoulders; and finally because they go about barefoot and naked in the mud, through the underbrush and bushes, and as they lie down on the bare earth it is only natural that they should be covered with dust, just as we, who wash a thousand times a day do a thousand times become dirty again. They are not -- pardon the expression -- grubby, and I firmly contend that they are not dirty by nature.

An Indian camp is composed of an undetermined number of 342 [361]
dwellings, made by sticking branches into the ground and tying them together on top in the form of a cupola. Onto this frame they throw quantities of straw until it looks like, not a hut, but a wagon so loaded with hay as to cover the very wheels.

They hurl the straw from quite some distance and yet so accurately as to cause wonder, so much the more as it is the women who do this work. A hut, once finished, is so strongly constructed that a man can stand and move about upon it, and it is quite waterproof.

[177] Each chief has his own group of huts, like so many barracks, [622]
and sometimes, especially on the occasion of a declaration of war, many chiefs gather.

The huts are usually so low-ceilinged that one cannot stand up inside, but they vary as to length according to the rank of the family and the number of families which live in them. The long huts are somewhat humped, with two or more doors. The entrance ways are usually protected, on the windy side of the hut, by a fixed windbreak -- one must stoop in order to be able to enter.

A hut is divided into the following parts: the kitchens and the sections where sleeping, sitting, working etc. is carried on; however, there is no material separation between these parts.

The kitchen is nothing more than a swept space on which a fire [354]
is lighted, but only when the weather is cold or when the family mother [765]
is in mourning, during which time she does not leave the hut for a year, or allow herself to be seen, nor does she speak except when strictly necessary. The usual thing is to cook food outside near the entrance. There are as many kitchens as there are families.

The bedroom consists of that portion of the hut where they 352
place skins and clothes, if they have any, upon which they lie and which they put on when they go out if it is cold. On the walls at the

[207] It follows that even when an individual has died outside his territory, his relatives and the members of his village will go and bring the corpse back to home ground for burial. But since transporting a corpse would be a very difficult matter for people who customarily get about on foot and who often have to travel hundreds of kilometers, they wait for such time to pass as will allow the corpse to lose its flesh, and then all they need to transport are the bones. This practice is in no way detrimental to the deceased for his soul cannot go under ground in any event until decomposition is finished. M 764

When death strikes, if it should be morning, then that very afternoon, and if it should be evening, then the very next morning, the corpse is placed in a grave. This grave is not filled in but is covered with branches so that the body may not supply a meal for jaguars, dogs or carrion eating birds. Once decomposition is over the remains are either burned, as has been said, or the grave is completely filled in and covered.

When a person dies far away from home, his body is wrapped in a net, in a squatting position, and then placed in a tree and covered so as to protect it from the above mentioned dangers; about a year later, or before if opportunity offers (but always when the bones are left) the relatives of the deceased return to pick up his remains and take them back to his hut where they are given the longed for burial. M 766

But wherever they may place the corpse they always put a pot full of water beside it. The reason for this is that just as soon as the individual dies the other departed ones gather round for a visit; and both they and he also might possibly become thirsty, and that is why he is given the wherewithal to slake their thirst. Anyone who knows the value which is placed on water in this region will understand why it seems important to the Indians to place some of this element at the disposal of the deceased, and will also be able to deduce that a bond of hospitality and fraternal feeling exists which continues even beyond the grave. Furthermore, our own pagan ancestors believed and practiced similar rites. M 764

As the Chaco Indians are poor and go about naked they cannot take advantage of the occasion of the death of their loved ones to show themselves off in expensive black clothing, as the whites M C 765

M C 765

do, or in white garments as do the Chinese, but they show in their own way that they are in mourning by shaving their heads which are the only parts of their bodies with covering. The women, instead of parading themselves about in their somber garb in churches and public places, hide themselves away in their huts and avoid all contact with their neighbors; they refrain absolutely from talking and apply themselves more diligently to their household duties. They continue in this mourning for a year, during which time it is not proper for them to remarry. Whenever they must needs go out they take the most secluded paths and if one should chance to meet them they cover their faces; they will not talk on any account and avoid any occasion for doing so. It happened that travelers [208] who have met up by chance, in out-of-the-way and therefore suspect places, with women like these who are withdrawn and will not speak, have mistreated and even killed them, being ignorant of the custom.

In addition to shaving their heads they also wail -- a monotonous expressionless chant -- which is apparently dictated by convention and accompanied by the beating of the "pin-pin" which, as I believe I have already said, is a mortar hollowed out of a tree trunk with a tool or with fire. Water is poured into this mortar and then a skin is stretched tightly over it to form a sort of drum. They beat upon this skin with a gourd filled with grains of corn or algarrobo seeds.

They wail in unison at certain stipulated hours, but the widow or mother does so without ceasing, even when she walks through the streets about her business. Relatives and friends accompany the deceased to the grave, and if he be a well loved chief or some famous witch doctor then the whole tribe will go.

M C 763 554 775 766

Chiefs and particularly famous witch doctors occupy positions of honor among the a'hot who await them, and their influence in the spirit world will be in proportion to the esteem in which they were held by their neighbors of which the funeral rites will be a yardstick. And so when one of them dies the Indians who are gathered about his bier beg him to bend every effort in their favor when he is far off among the a'hot, and try to influence the storm a'hot and the plague a'hot or the famine a'hot to pardon their villages and visit their enemies. The dying

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the body of some animal. The magical nature of these ornaments was likewise obvious.

Among the *Mataco*, who in general are more addicted to religion and superstition than the Choroti, the character of facial painting as a magical charm is more conspicuous. These Indians give facial painting different names according as it is used by men or women and depending on its colour. Thus the red painting of women is called *eruhák*, whereas the red painting of the men is called *oxóittáh* (a name evidently derived from the word *oittáh* demon). The black painting is called *letáh*. It is especially used as a sign of sorrow. When a Mataco man dies, his widow and daughters blacken their faces with charcoal, regarding this as a protection against the death-demon. Similarly, for some time after a death the younger men every evening perform the dance *Katináh*, and all those taking part in the dance have their faces blackened. — The red painting again is applied as a means of giving the body strength and as a direct protection against evil spirits causing sickness.

Many *personal ornaments* of the Chaco Indians, for instance ear-tubes, necklaces, feather ornaments etc., are of the nature of charms or amulets against evil spirits. The feather ornaments most customary among the Chaco tribes are ostrich plumes, and these, as I have shown in my *Civilization of the South American Indians* have originally not been decorations in the civilized sense of the word, but magical charms, a character which they still preserve for instance among such tribes as the Chamacoco and Lenguas in Paraguay. Among the Choroti, who likewise at their great feasts in December and January wear great ostrich plumes as ornaments, this is not equally conspicuous in accordance with the fact that in many cases the Choroti culture shows traces of an incipient degeneration. On the other hand, in the description I have given before of a Mataco dance performed to conjure disease demons and in which the sorcerers had ostrich feathers fastened to the ankles, wrists, head, and waist,[1]) the mystic significance of these ornaments is quite obvious. Similarly, when another writer states that the Mataco in some parts of the Argentine Chaco not only use ostrich plumes as head-ornaments, but also apply them to the face as a sort of beard, which gives them a grotesque and ferocious appearance, or wear them round the wrists in the way of bracelets,[2]) one cannot fail to recognize superstitious motives behind these arrangements.

[1]) See *supra*, p. 137.

[2]) Baldrich. *Las comarcas vírgenes*, p. 231.

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relatives of the departed cannot live safely in it. This is the reason why in the Gran Chaco a traveller so often encounters remains of Indian villages which have evidently been burnt and abandoned by their inhabitants. The radical destruction of the whole village is always resorted to when several deaths have taken place at short intervals. The relatives of the deceased, when they abandon their own village, generally go and live with their relatives and friends in a neighbouring village, where they stay for some time, or until they decide to found a new settlement in some other part of the country. Custom requires that when the mourners arrive at the other village, they shall be received with wailing.

The Tobas, although they always burn the house where a death has taken place, do not as a rule deem it necessary to destroy the whole village. Similarly the relatives of the deceased generally remain there, building themselves a new dwelling; in other cases they leave the place for some time. The other inhabitants of the village, on the other hand, make no notable change in their mode of life, since they are not to the same extent exposed to danger from the death-spirit as the nearest relations.

Weeping and wailing plays an important part among the mourning ceremonies of the Indians, although it is always limited to the women and the children. The fact that wailing is ceremonial clearly appears from the circumstances under which it takes place. Although it is beyond doubt that the Indians are capable of real feelings of sorrow at the death of a near relation, yet their intense fear of death — including the fear of the dead body — is apparent throughout their mourning customs. The object of the wailing seems to be partly to propitiate the spirit of the departed relative by showing him how deeply the survivors grieve at his death, partly to frighten away the death-demon by the noise. The latter point of view is probably the most important. Wailing is continued for several months after the death. The length of the wailing period varies according to the social importance of the deceased. A great chief is mourned in all tribes for longer than an ordinary member of the community, in some cases up to a whole year. As to the manner of wailing there is a marked distinction between the Tobas and the Mataco on the one hand, and the Choroti on the other. The wailing of the Toba women is like a greatly exaggerated loud crying and sobbing which is seemingly the expression of a desperate sorrow. The wailing of the Choroti women is calmer and more like the weeping of a child. Every lamentation consists of a series of sounds produced in a high falsetto voice and

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C 765 forming a falling scale in a minor key, which makes a very peculiar impression. At the time of mourning the women and children commence this wailing at fairly regular intervals and all at once, as if it were agreed upon. To one who lives for some time in a Choroti village it is evident C 765 that wailing forms part of Indian etiquette. Not only must the mourners, when they arrive from another village, which has been abandoned on 876 account of a death, be received by a choir of weeping women and children; any guest who arrives in a village shortly after a death has taken place there is received in the same way. When in March 1912 I visited the Choroti in the interior of their land, where no European had yet penetrated, I noticed with astonishment that on my arrival at a village I was received with loud wailing by the women and children. I soon learnt that a great chief had died some time ago; but the fact that the wailing was renewed to receive me remained unexplained. I was told, however, that this peculiar way of receiving strangers was prescribed by Choroti custom. The most probable explanation seems to me that it is feared lest the spirit of the defunct should revisit his people in a strange disguise, and that the wailing has for its object to propitiate him or to frighten him away. Such ideas prevail among other South American tribes also, both in the Chaco and elsewhere.

M C T 765 302 562 There are certain other customs observed in connection with mourning, but they are as a rule limited to the women. Among all Pilcomayo tribes it is customary that when a man dies, his widow, daughters, and sisters cut their hair short with the sharp teeth of the *palometa* fish and burn it. Ceremonial wailing always attends the cutting of the hair. When I asked the Choroti why a widow cuts and destroys her hair after the death of her husband, I was told that the dead husband, who wants his wife to follow him to the grave, is believed to attack her through the hair. In order to rid herself of this danger she shaves it off. Exactly T 765 the same belief prevails among the Tobas: the dead husband or father will seize his surviving wife or daughter by the hair and cause her to fall ill and die. Among the Tobas a widow cuts her hair twice, first immediately after the husband's death, the second time some months later T [602] when the hair has again grown long. At the same time she repeats the wailing. Similarly the nearest female relatives have to diet, in so far as they are not allowed to eat fish for many months. If they infringe the rules of diet in regard to fish they may sicken and die. After a Toba woman has cut her hair the second time she may again eat fish, her mourning is over and she is allowed to marry again. Even some of the

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men abstain from eating fish for some time after the death of a near relation. T 765

Apart from the custom of cutting the hair neither the Tobas nor other Pilcomayo tribes nowadays practise ceremonial mutilations of any kind. Formerly however, as the Tobas told me, they practised the following mourning custom. When a woman died, her eldest son had to cut off one of his finger nails. The nail was fastened to a string and hung round the neck of a dog, which was thereafter driven away. If the son omitted to do this, it was believed that the soul of the woman would enter into the nail and kill him in the shape of a tiger into which it would transform itself. This could be prevented by sending away the nail. The dog carrying it away would meet some other tribesman into which the soul would enter and thus become harmless. for the spirits of the dead are harmful only to the nearest relatives. The Indian who told me this added that the custom is no longer practised by the Tobas, because nowadays it very seldom happens that people are killed by tigers and thus the belief that women are changed into such beasts after death has lost its foundation. This again, according to the Indian belief, is owing to the fact that the medicine-men are now able to provide against such sad eventualities by their incantations and conjurations. T 765 775

As to the explanation of these observances, we have already seen that the abstention from eating fish is due to the idea that the death-demon may possibly hide in the fish and gain entrance into the body. Of special interest are the mourning customs relating to hair and nails. Hair-cutting as a mourning practice of women is met with among most South American Indians and — like other kinds of mutilation — are essentially purification ceremonies of purely magical significance. In the hair and the nails according to primitive belief the vital power of the human body is concentrated. One who possesses these essential parts of a person's body is believed to possess his soul, through which he will be able to exert magical influence upon him. If this is so, it is conceivable that invisible supernatural enemies would take particular interest in these parts. Consequently, when a woman is in a delicate situation, she takes the precaution to remove and destroy these critical parts of her body. According to Indian belief, women are always more exposed to supernatural dangers than men, and therefore have to be more careful in every respect. M 765 826

The fear of the dead is also manifested in that their *names* are forbidden to be mentioned. This is another general superstition among the M 765 551

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765 551 Chaco tribes. These savages as a rule are very reluctant to mention their true Indian names. Thus, as I have mentioned before, when the Chaco Indians visit the whites they nearly always assume names for use instead of their real names. If the Indians are thus careful with the names of the living, those of the dead are particularly regarded as taboo and must never be mentioned, especially by the nearest relatives. When I asked one of my Indian friends about the name of a man who had just died, he hesitated for a moment, looked round, and when he saw that no one of the relatives was near, he *whispered* the name in my ear. This superstition, [774] I believe, is ultimately based on the idea, held by all Indians, that *the soul of a person is inherent in his name*. To know a person's name is therefore the same as to have his soul in one's power, and supernatural influences can be exerted upon him through this invisible part of his personality, just as they can be exerted through a lock of his hair or a piece of his nail. If the soul is believed to be in the name, we can easily understand why the names of the dead are especially taboo. To mention it is the same as to enter into close contact with the departed soul itself, to which the infection of death is attached, and this is supposed to entail unfortunate consequences, at least for the nearest relatives. For an outsider there is evidently not the same personal danger. But since a person may be controlled and conjured through his name, it is further believed that the rest of the dead in the grave may be disturbed by mentioning his name. It is therefore considered a dreadful indiscretion against the relatives to speak of the deceased by name. This is the idea prevailing both among the Tobas and among other Chaco tribes. Generally [195] the Indians do not like to speak about the dead at all, and if they do, their tacit maxim is: *de mortuis nil nisi bene*. The relatives would never admit that they fear a dead parent and regard him as malicious. They always pronounce him to be »good», as if believing that by such a euphemism they may change his character or paralyse the harmful effects arising from him.

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may kill him. The snake's *āhat* is called *punsoya* (perhaps Spanish-pouzoña : poison).

When a man is bitten by a snake he must kill the reptile and take it home in order to be cured rapidly. If he has been bitten while away from his home, he must dig a groove and put the snake into it, facing it in the opposite direction to that which he is taking. Thus the snake cannot enter him.

Tawkxwax taught the men the procedure to be followed in order to cure snake bites.

XII. How to Become a Singer

Those who want to become good singers must go to the bush and stay there for quite a long time. They must kill birds who are good singers and eat them after they have been made into powder and mixed with blood extracted from the arm. When they are in the bush they must first beat a drum, then run. Thus they will perhaps dream about a singing bird. When they wake up they must then take their drums and sing the song they heard in their dreams. One must not awaken until the song is finished or he will not remember it. Everyone has two songs and he must sing them every day in order to learn them. Ordinarily several young men go to the bush and after they have dreamed of a song they sing one after another. Generally three or four days are sufficient to master a song.

One must not sing someone else's song. If after one has eaten a bird he dreams of an iguana, it is no longer worth while to go on, for he will never become a good singer. The birds one dreams about and who teach one how to sing are not ordinary birds, they are *paata* (supernatural beings). The women do not know how to sing but they can cry when they have to mourn. Not all women know how to weep. In order to weep well, a woman must dream about another woman who is a good mourner. There are some exceptional women who can sing.

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764 companying themselves on rattles and drums. These laments last for about one hour after death, then begin again when the corpse is carried away to be buried and finally when they come back from the burial. But on the following day only very near relatives parents, grandparents, aunts or uncles, go on weeping. Those who were already mourning for someone else weep louder than the others because they mourn for two.

●765 The laments take place at sunrise and at sunset as well as in the middle of the afternoon. During the first days of mourning the near relatives of the deceased go to his home [535] to mourn. There they run and dance, going continually from one place to another and shaking their rattles with both hands. They accompany the dance with lamentations. With the exception of the wife of the deceased, women always mourn in this way, shaking rattles, dancing and lamentations. Mourning women must not appear bareheaded or with a naked face for they ought not to be seen. People [533] sing and play on rattles during the mourning period in order that the dead person may readily be forgotten. The laments which last two or three hours every day are supposed to help the living forget the dead. After six months, more or less, they weep only at dawn and even then very rarely. [302] The relatives of the dead person must cut off their hair in order not to displease the dead who would attack their heads and make them bald. The wife, at the death of her husband, observes mourning for two years. She shuts herself up in a special little hut often adjoining the hut of her married son, or daughter if she has no son.

768 The house of the deceased is pulled down and a new one built about 10 yards away. If this were not done the dead man would come back within fourteen days after death, attracted by memories of his previous life. The materials of the old house are used in the construction of the new one.

A widow may leave her home to satisfy her wants only at night. If she goes out during the day the dead man gets

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angry. No one is allowed to call on her and only very young boys may go into her house. She speaks only when it is necessary to get things she needs.

A medicine-woman of the village of Las Lomitas, whose husband died a year before, left her retreat in order to cure a sick child belonging to her family. After every treatment she went back to her hut. The child recovered in five days and she resumed her mourning. At no time did she speak with other members of her family.

In the morning and afternoon a widow plays a drum and weeps. Thus she tries to forget her husband but some time later she will think of him again and then go back to her drum. During this period she cuts her hair three times and eats her food with a fork and spoon.

If a woman looses her husband shortly after marriage, he may call on her frequently but if she marries another man before two years have elapsed the spirit of her late husband kills her new husband. After two years the dead man has forgotten his wife and marries a female spirit. When a widow dies her spirit goes to her husband and they live together as they did on earth. Upon the death of a husband the children are bound to support their mother unless she marries again after the two years of mourning.

XX. Miscellanea

a) *Dreams*

Dreams are of exceptional importance to the Matako who believe that everything which happens in dreams will come to pass in real life. The dream is the life of the soul which after death becomes a spirit. During sleep the soul is released to wander about in the world where it sees what will happen in material life. Ordinary men as well as medicine-men can identify images seen in dreams. Thus the Matako Indians expect to realize in life the accomplishment